

Feature 1.6.1 Prothesis in _ád'os_ 'bed' [Map ID 441]
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Variant values

- | | |
|---|------|
| 1 | none |
| 2 | j |
| 3 | h |
| 4 | v |

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <none> points to the original, vowel-initial form of the loanword from Hungarian _ágy_ 'bed'.
- (2) Innovation. The variant <j> has developed by adding a prothetic palatal approximant to the original form, leading to forms like _jad'os_ in Central Romani.
- (3) Innovation. The variant <h> has developed by adding a prothetic glotal fricative to the original form, leading to forms like _had'os_ in Central Romani.
- (4) Innovation. The variant <v>, has developed by adding a prothetic labial fricative that is realised either as labiodental or as labiovelar in Central, leading to forms like _vad'os_.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <none> is attested in individual varieties of two adjacent dialect regions in the southeast of Slovakia: a) in the variety of Sobrance (Western Uh) and b) in the variety of Trhovište (Southern Zemplín).
- (2) The variant <j> occurs in a single contiguous area comprising all varieties of the Eastern and Western Malopolska regions.
- (3) The variant <h> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the historical Abov-Turňa and Spiš counties with an overlap to the Šariš and Liptov counties. More specifically, the variant occurs in almost all varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup and in several adjacent varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup.
- (4) The variant <v> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the eastern periphery of Central Romani. This area consists of all varieties of the Central and Western Galicia regions and the overwhelming majority of the Eastern North Central varieties of Slovakia.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

None of the Central Romani variants are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups.

Variant values

- 1 none
- 2 j

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) The variant <none> maintains the original Proto-Romani state in which there was no consonant prothesis in the noun _anR.o_ ‘egg’.
- (2) The variant <j> has developed by adding a prothetic palatal approximant to the original form, leading to forms like _jandro_ or _járo_ in Central Romani.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <none> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the southeast of Slovakia. This area comprises several southern varieties of the Eastern and Middle North Central subgroups and a few varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup. More specifically, the variant is attested in all varieties of the Eastern Už region, in a few varieties of the Western Uh region, in most varieties of the Southern Zemplín region, in some varieties of the Abov region, in individual varieties of the Turňa and Eastern and Western Gemer regions and in a few varieties of the Southern Gemer region.
- (2) The variant <j> is attested throughout the whole Central area, with a concentration in the north of Central Romani. More specifically, the variant occurs in the overwhelming majority of varieties of the North Central group including the Plaščuno dialect, in a few varieties of the Lower Nógrád region, in most varieties of the Northwestern South Central subgroup of Slovakia and in all varieties of the Southeastern South Central subgroup. The variant is only absent in the Southwestern South Central subgroup.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

Both Central Romani variants are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups:

- (1) The variant <none> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east and southeast of Central Romani, viz. in Transylvanian, Lovaria and Gurbet Romani. These dialect groups constitute a dialect continuum with some Central varieties in the southeast of Slovakia including all Central varieties of the Transcarpathian region.
- (2) The variant <j> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the west and south of Central Romani, viz. in Sinti, Dolenjski and Arli Romani.

Variant values

- | | |
|---|------|
| 1 | none |
| 2 | j |
| 3 | h |

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) Retention. The variant <none> maintains the original Proto-Romani state, in which there was no consonant prothesis in the etymon **_armi_* (< Greek *_army_* ‘brine, salt water’).
- (2) Innovation. The variant <j> reflects a prothesis of a palatal approximant, leading to forms such as *_jarmin_* in respective dialects.
- (3) Innovation. The variant <h> reflects a prothesis of a glotal voiceless fricative /h/, leading to forms such as *_harmin_* in respective dialects.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <none> is attested in two slightly discontinuous areas: a) in the eastern periphery and b) in the south of Central Romani with an overlap to North Central Romani. The eastern area consists of almost all varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup, several eastern varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup (especially Western and Southern Šariš, and Abov), and individual adjacent varieties of the Central and Western Galicia regions, viz. Topil’nycja and Kulaszne. The southern area comprises most varieties of the South Central group (sporadically attested only in the Southwestern South Central subgroup), all varieties of the Eastern and Southern Gemer and Upper Tekov regions, all Western Transitional varieties and several southern varieties of the Western North Central subgroup, viz. a single variety of the Turiec region and almost all varieties of the Trenčín, Nové Mesto Považie, Northern Záhorie and Czechia regions.
- (2) The variant <j> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the Plaščno dialect and b) in the north of Central Romani. This northern area consists of almost all varieties of the Northern North Central subgroup, the overwhelming majority of varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup and a few adjacent northwestern varieties of the Eastern North Central subgroup, all varieties of the Northern and Western Gemer, Eastern and Western Horehronie and Upper Hont regions, and several northwestern varieties of the Western North Central subgroup, viz. all varieties of the Upper Kysuce and Žilina and Púchov Považie regions, the Orava variety and almost all varieties of the Turiec region. The variant is also attested in a single adjacent South Central variety, viz. in Hriňová (Podpoľanie).

(3) The variant <h> occurs sporadically in the east of Slovakia. More specifically, the variant is attested in a few (mostly non-adjacent) varieties of the Eastern and Middle North Central subgroups.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

Two of the Central Romani variants are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups:

(1) The variant <none> is found in Transylvanian Romani, i.e. to the east of Central Romani.

(2) The variant <j> occurs in Northeastern Romani, constituting a dialect continuum with several northern varieties of Central Romani.

Variant values

- | | |
|---|------|
| 1 | none |
| 2 | j |
| 3 | h |
| 4 | n |

Diachronic explanation of variants

- (1) The variant <none> maintains the original Proto-Romani absence of any prothetic segment in the noun *_asvi_* (< MIA *_assu_-*, < OIA *_ašru_-*).
- (2) The variant <j> has developed by adding a prothetic palatal approximant to the original form, leading to forms like *_jasvin_*, *_javs_*, *_japs_*, etc. in Central Romani.
- (3) The variant <h> has developed by adding a prothetic glottal fricative to the original form, leading to the form *_haps_* in respective dialects.
- (4) The variant <n> has developed by adding a prothetic alveolar nasal to the original form, leading to the form *_násviň_* in the respective dialect.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <none> is almost general in Central Romani. However, the variant is only sporadically attested in the northern periphery of Central Romani, in the Eastern Transitional subgroup and in the northwest of the Middle North Central subgroup, and absent in the Horehronie region.
- (2) The variant <j> is attested in two discontinuous areas: a) in the Plaščuno dialect and b) in the northern periphery of Central Romani and in the historical Gemer, Zvolen and Spiš counties. This main area consists of individual northernmost varieties of the Central and Western Galicia regions (viz. Nyžnje and Jasło), all varieties of the Malopolska region, several (mostly northern) varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup, all varieties of the Upper Kysuce region and individual varieties of the Žilina Považie and Turiec regions, and, more to the south, the overwhelming majority of the Eastern Transitional varieties and all varieties of the Horehronie region.
- (3) The variant <h> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in a single variety of the Lower Spiš region (viz. Poráč) and b) in a single variety of the Turňa region (viz. Bôrka). These varieties are not contiguous.
- (4) The variant <n> is attested in the Eastern Transitional variety of Tisovec (Western Gemer).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

Two of the Central Romani variants are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups:

- (1) The variant <none> is found in most neighbouring dialect groups, viz. in Sinti, Transylvanian, Lovari and Arli Romani.
- (2) The variant <j> occurs in Northeastern Romani, constituting a dialect continuum with the northeastern varieties of Central Romani. The variant is also attested in Gurbet Romani.

Variant values

- | | |
|---|------|
| 1 | none |
| 2 | j |
| 3 | d' |

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <none> reflects the original, Proto-Romani form of the noun *_ilo_, which was characterised by having no initial consonant. The noun _ilo_ developed from OIA _hr̥daya_ - via MIA _hidaa_ - by aphaeresis of the initial /h/. In Central Romani, however, this variant may historically be secondary due to the loss of the prothetic /j/ (see variant <j>). In other words, Proto-Romani *_ilo_ may have developed into *_jilo_ in the whole Central Romani and only subsequently *_jilo_ has lost its initial consonant in certain dialects, leading to restoration of the Proto-Romani state. Such loss may have been triggered by contact with languages and dialects that do not allow an initial palatal approximant before /i/. Still, the variant is coded here as retention on the basis of the overall historical phonology of Romani.

(2) Innovation. The variant <j> has developed by adding a prothetic palatal approximant to Proto-Romani _ilo_.

(3) Innovation. The variant <d'> reflects occlusivisation of the prothetic /j/ and its development into a palatal stop.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications. The etymon is largely unattested in the Southwestern South Central subgroup, where the meaning shifted to some kind of animal entrails (e.g. ‘poultry stomach’).

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <none> is sporadically attested in the north of Central Romani including the northern varieties of Hungary. More specifically, the variant occurs in several varieties of Poland, in most varieties of the Eastern Už region, in a few varieties of the Northern Šariš and Northern Zemplín regions, in several dispersed southern and western varieties of Slovakia, in all Lower Nógrád varieties of Hungary and in a single variety of the Pest region (viz. Páty). The variant often co-occurs with the variant <j>.

(2) The variant <j> is the most widespread in Central Romani. More specifically, the variant occurs in the overwhelming majority of varieties of the North Central group, in most varieties of the Northeastern and Northwestern South Central subgroups and in all Southeastern South Central varieties. On the other hand, the variant is absent or unattested especially in the Southwestern South Central subgroup.

(3) The variant <d'> is attested in two discontinuous areas: a) in the Northwestern South Central variety of Podunajské Biskupice (Žitný ostrov) and b) in a few varieties of Somogy (viz. Vásárosdombó and Csokonyavisonta).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

All three Central Romani variants are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups:

(1) The variant <none> is found in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east and southeast of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari and Gurbet Romani.

(2) The variant <j> occurs in the neighbouring dialect groups to the east and southwest of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari and Dolenjski Romani.

(3) The variant <d'> is attested in Transylvanian Romani.

Comments on feature

including in derivations such as *_avral_*

Variant values

- | | |
|---|------|
| 1 | none |
| 2 | j |

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <none> maintains the original, Proto-Romani form of the adverb **_avri_*, characterised by having no initial consonant. The adverb developed from OIA *_bāhira_* - ‘external, outer’ by metathesis (**_hābira_*) and aphaeresis of the glottal fricative (**_ābira_*).

(2) Innovation. The variant <j> has developed by adding a prothetic palatal approximant to the original form, leading to the form *_javri_* in respective dialects.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

- (1) The variant <none> is general in Central Romani.
- (2) The variant <j> occurs only as a co-variant of <none>, being attested in some varieties of the Central Galicia region, viz. in Lanovyči and Volja.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

- (1) Only the Central Romani variant <none> is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups, being found in all of these groups, viz. in Lovari, Transylvanian, Northeastern, Sinti, Dolenjski, Arli and Gurbet Romani.

Variant values

- | | |
|---|------|
| 1 | none |
| 2 | j |
| 3 | h |

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <none> maintains the original vowel-initial form of the Proto-Romani verb *ačh- ‘to stay, to remain’, which is a reflex of MIA acch- ‘to sit; to remain; to continue’ (cf. Pali 3sg acchati- ‘sits still, remains, behaves, is’; from OIA ākṣēti- ‘abides, dwells in’; CDIAL 1031).

(2) Innovation. The variant <j> has developed by adding a prothetic palatal approximant to the original form, leading to forms like jačh- in respective Central Romani dialects.

(3) Innovation. The variant <h> has developed by adding a prothetic glottal fricative to the original form, leading to forms like hačh- in respective Central Romani dialects.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <none> is almost general in Central Romani. The variant is absent in almost all varieties of the Western and Eastern Malopolska regions and in a few varieties of the Western Gemer region.

(2) The variant <j> is attested in a single contiguous area consisting of almost all varieties of the Western and Eastern Malopolska regions, with the exception of Kopernicki (1925, 1930).

(3) The variant <h> occurs in a single contiguous area, in the border area of the Gemer and Horehronie regions. More specifically, this area comprises most varieties of the Western Gemer region and individual adjacent varieties of the Eastern and Western Horehronie regions.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

Two of the Central Romani variants are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups:

(1) The variant <none> is found in almost all neighbouring dialect groups of Central Romani, viz. in Lovari, Transylvanian, Sinti, Dolenjski, Arli and Gurbet Romani.

(2) The variant <j> occurs in Northeastern Romani, constituting a dialect continuum with the Malopolska varieties of Central Romani.

Variant values

- | | |
|---|------|
| 1 | none |
| 2 | j |
| 3 | h |

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <none> maintains the original, Proto-Romani form of the verb **_an_* - from the OIA prefixed root *ā-nī-* ‘to bring’ (3sg *ānayāti* ‘brings’; cf. also MIA *āṇedi*).

(2) Innovation. The variant <j> has developed by adding a prothetic palatal approximant to the original form, leading to the form *_jan_* - in respective dialects.

(3) Innovation. The variant <h> has developed by adding a prothetic glottal fricative to the original form, leading to the form *_han_* - in respective dialects.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <none> is almost general in Central Romani. The variant is only absent in a few varieties of the Northern North Central subgroup and in a single variety of the Southern Zemplín region.

(2) The variant <j> is attested in a single contiguous area, in several varieties of Poland and in the varieties of the Galicia region of Ukraine. This area consists of most varieties of the Northern North Central subgroup (especially in Eastern and Western Malopolska and Central Galicia) and a single adjacent variety of the Upper Spiš region (viz. Czarna Góra).

(3) The variant <h> occurs in the Eastern North Central variety of Poša (Southern Zemplín).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

All three Central Romani variants are attested in the neighbouring dialect groups:

(1) The variant <none> is found in all neighbouring dialect groups, except of Northeastern Romani.

(2) The variant <j> occurs in Northeastern Romani, constituting a dialect continuum with the northern peripheral varieties of Central Romani.

(3) The variant <h>, as a co-variant of <none>, is found in Sinti Romani, i.e. to the west and northwest of Central Romani.

Variant values

- 1 *hasa-*
- 2 *asa-*
- 3 *jasa-*

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <hasa->, characteristic by the initial glottal fricative, reflects the Proto-Romani form of the verb **_hasa_-* (< MIA and OIA *_has_-* ‘to laugh’). This does not mean, however, that the variant *_hasa_-* in all Central Romani dialects where it occurs must be conservation of the original form. In certain dialects, the form *_hasa_-* may be secondary, developed by adding a prothetic glottal fricative to the aphaeretic form *_asa_-*. Such dialects cannot be synchronically distinguished from dialects that have continuously been conserving the Proto-Romani form and aphaeresis never occurred in their development.

(2) Innovation. The variant <asa-> has developed by reduction of the initial glottal fricative in *_hasa_-*.

(3) Innovation. The variant <jasa-> has developed by adding a prothetic palatal approximant to the aphaeretic form *_asa_-*.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <hasa-> is sporadically attested in the North Central varieties of Slovakia and Czechia, with two slightly discontiguous concentrations: a) in the historical Gemer and Liptov counties, b) in the northwest of Central Romani. The eastern concentration consists of all varieties of the Liptov region, some other (mostly western) varieties of the Middle North Central subgroup, almost all varieties of the Eastern Transitional subgroup, all varieties of the Eastern Horehronie region and a few adjacent varieties of the Western Horehronie region. The western concentration comprises all varieties of the Upper Kysuce and Žilina Považie regions and a single adjacent variety of the Turiec region (viz. Sučany), almost all varieties of the Northern Záhorie region and a single variety of the Czechia region. Additionally, the variant is sporadically attested in the Eastern North Central subgroup.

(2) The variant <asa-> occurs throughout the whole Central area. The variant is only sporadically attested in the Northern North Central and Eastern Transitional subgroups, and absent in some dialect regions of the Western North Central subgroup and in several varieties of the Middle and Eastern North Central subgroups.

(3) The variant <jasa-> occurs in three discontiguous areas: a) in the Plaščno dialect, b) in the the northeastern periphery of Central Romani and d) in a single variety of the

Western Horehronie region (viz. Pohronská Polhora). The main, northeastern, area consists of all varieties of the Central Galicia and Eastern and Western Malopolska regions, a single variety of the Western Galicia region (viz. Jasło) and several (mostly northern) varieties of the Upper Spiš region.

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

(2) Only the Central Romani variant <asa-> is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups, being found to the east and south of Central Romani, viz. in Transylvanian, Lovari, Gurbet, Arli and Dolenjski Romani.

Feature 1.6.27 Aphaeresis in _jepaš_ ‘half’ [Map ID 279]

Variant values

1 jepaš

2 epaš

Diachronic explanation of variants

(1) Retention. The variant <jepaš>, including its subvariant _jekpaš_, maintains the initial palatal approximant in the fractional numeral, which has developed as a compound of _jek(h)_ ‘one’ and _paš_ ‘half’ (i.e. from *_jekh paš_ ‘one-half’).

(2) Innovation. The variant <epaš>, including its subvariant _épaš_, has developed by reduction of the initial palatal approximant in the original form _jepaš_.

Attestation of forms

LQCR, RMS, some publications

Geographical distribution of variants in Central Romani

(1) The variant <jepaš> occurs in two discontinuous areas: a) in the north of Central Romani and b) in the Southeastern South Central variety of Paks (Tolna). The northern area comprises almost all varieties of the North Central group, except of the Plaščuno dialect, a few varieties of the Western Horehronie region and almost all varieties of the Upper Tekov, Upper Hont and Hlohovec Považie regions.

(2) The variant <epaš> is attested in a single contiguous area, in the south of Central Romani. This area consists of all varieties of the South Central group (except of the Paks variety), almost all varieties of the Upper Hont, Upper Tekov and Hlohovec Považie regions and, interestingly, a single variety of the Turiec region (viz. Turček).

Geographical distribution of variants in neighbouring dialect groups

(2) Only one of the Central Romani variants is attested in the neighbouring dialect groups: The variant <epaš> is found in Transylvanian Romani, i.e. to the east of Central Romani.